



## Arlen Specter Speaks

### Senator Specter during the debate on the Use of Force Against Iraq

Of all of the responsibilities entrusted to Congress, the authority and responsibility to declare war is one of the most important.

All the rules have changed since September 11 of last year. We now know that in the United States, we are no longer invulnerable to attack by outside powers. The breadth of the Atlantic and the Pacific no longer protect us. We learned a very bitter lesson on September 11 that has to be taken into account.

We know Saddam Hussein is cruel, repressive, and evil. There are hardly sufficient adjectives to adequately describe his vicious character. That has long since been recognized and was the point of a resolution which this Senator introduced on March 3, 1998 - to constitute a war crimes tribunal and to try Saddam Hussein as a war criminal because he had violated the basic laws of humanity. He had engaged in reprehensible conduct.

That resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 93 to 0 on March 13, 1998.

The current question is: What course of action would be the most likely to avoid future violence--that is, an attack on the United States or other peaceful countries?

The most desirable objective would be to achieve the disarmament of Iraq in accordance with the commitments which Iraq made at the conclusion of the Gulf War- to disarm, to cease production of chemical or biological weapons, and to stop the search for the production of nuclear weapons.

In a series of town meetings I have held in the last 3 months, I have had many constituents say to me, why does the United States want to start a war?

In the past, the United States has never started a war. The United States has only finished wars. Certainly were it not for

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### HELP FOR AMERICA'S DAIRY FARMERS

Agriculture is the largest industry in Pennsylvania, and dairy is its single largest component. Pennsylvania is the fourth largest dairy producer in the nation. We have approximately 10,300 dairy farms which produce \$1.710 billion worth of milk each year.

Regrettably, over the past decades, Pennsylvania has lost an average of 300 to 500 dairy farmers per year. In the years 1993 to 1998, Pennsylvania lost more than 11 percent of its dairy farmers. That's because Pennsylvania farmers have had to deal with drought and other natural disasters, high feed and transportation costs, and other variables that challenge their ability to sustain their farms. But mostly, it is because the cost of production exceeds what has been the average price for class 3 dairy products., which varies tremendously. It was \$15.90 in September of last year. It went down to \$9.92 in September of this year. The cost to Pennsylvania has been tremendous.

Meanwhile, the average cost of production of milk in Pennsylvania per hundredweight as calculated by the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture was \$14.32 in the year 2001. The price for milk in January of 2002 was \$11.87 per hundredweight, going down to \$10.82 per hundredweight in May, and \$9.54 per hundredweight in August of this year. The cost of production exceeds what the Pennsylvania dairy farmers are able to obtain for their milk.

It is a complex matter. While the price of milk goes down for

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### Tripiling NIH's Funding

On October 17, 2002 I urged my colleagues in the Senate to triple the funding for the National Institutes of Health (NIH). The progress on medical research has been astounding, thanks to remarkable biomedical research and achievements.

When I came to the Senate after being elected in 1980, the budget for NIH was \$3.6 billion. The Senate bill this year will advance that funding to more than \$27 billion, and a good bit of that growth has been occasioned by the resolution which

was passed in 1997 to double the NIH funding over a 50 year period.

In 1998, Senator Harkin and I asked for an additional \$1 billion. The Budget Committee turned us down. We came to the floor and lost on a vote of 63 o 37, but we got out our sharp pencils and found the \$1 billion as a matter of priorities.

Having lost on the effort for \$1 billion, we came back the next year and asked for \$2 bil

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## The Iraq Resolution *(continued)*



the experience on September 11 last year, I think we would not have considered preemptive action. However, the authorities and international law do contemplate action where there is a threat--a significant threat.

There is no doubt that there is present danger. There is a real question as to why Saddam Hussein would amass chemical and biological weapons in great quantity, develop delivery systems capable of reaching the United States, and continue to search for nuclear weapons if he was not looking to harm the United States or other peaceful nations.

With 20/20 hindsight, it is apparent that we should have acted against Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida long before September 11. Osama bin Laden was under indictment for killing Americans in Mogadishu in 1993. Osama bin Laden was later indicted for the embassy bombings in Africa in 1998.

We knew Osama bin Laden was implicated in the terrorism against the destroyer USS Cole. We knew Osama bin Laden had carried on a worldwide jihad aimed at the United States. It is my personal view, having served as chairman of the Intelligence Committee of the 104th Congress, that had we put all of the so-called dots together on one screen, we would have had a virtual blueprint as to what Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden would do.

In dealing with Saddam, we can wait and do nothing — no resolution, no action — and simply let Saddam Hussein continue to flout his commitments made to the United Nations.

However, my view is, after a lot of careful deliberation, analysis, and study, that the risk of inaction is worse than the risk of action.

But, there are major risks in action.

We have to consider what losses there will be on United States personnel, British personnel, or whoever may join us. We also have to consider the risk to Israel, which is in the neighborhood of Iraq.

Iraq is still at war with Israel. During the Persian Gulf War in 1991, some 39 Scud missiles were rained down on Israel. While they have a missile defense system, it is not adequate to protect the whole nation. Notwithstanding that, Prime Minister Sharon has made public announcements that he endorses United States military action against Iraq.

The risks of not doing anything may subject the United States to a repeat of September 11, which could be even more cataclysmic. We continue to worry about al-Qaida, which has shown a ruthless disregard for human life with the most barbaric kind of conduct. The risks with Saddam

resolution, it would be, in effect, an open invitation to the UN not to act. It would in effect subject our national interests to a veto on the UN Security Council from China, Russia, or France.

So I do believe, of all the alternatives, giving the President this power without conditioning it on previous UN resolutions is the best way to get the United Nations to act to enforce the 1991 obligations which Iraq has to the United Nations - which have been in desperate breach.

I do intend to vote for the pending resolution.

On this solemn occasion, when it appears now highly likely--or perhaps more accurately, virtually certain--that this resolution will be enacted by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, and that we are on a very difficult course, it is hoped that the tremendous power of the

United States, in conjunction with other countries, will be sufficient to bring Saddam Hussein to his senses. If he does not submit to inspections, then it is confirmation that he, in fact, has something to hide and there is something really at risk.

So among the very many complex considerations, it is my considered judgment the adoption of this resolution is the best course for our country.

**I do believe the likelihood of getting UN action is better if we proceed to give the President the authority to act without UN support. If the Senate gave the President authority to use force conditioned on a UN resolution, it would be, in effect, an open invitation to the UN not to act.**

Hussein are comparable.

Make no mistake about it, this resolution for the use of force is the equivalent of a declaration of war, and Congress has the authority to declare war. However, we are saying in effect that the President may decide at some future time whether war should be declared.

In an earlier presentation on the Senate floor, I detailed, to substantial extent, the considerations and concerns I had about the constitutionality of that kind of a delegation of power.

We are faced with a tough decision. I commend President Bush for coming to Congress. Originally he said he did not need to do so and would not do so. Later, he modified that, saying that while he might not have to, he was coming to Congress. He initially talked about unilateral action, and since has worked very hard in the United Nations.

I do believe the likelihood of getting UN action is better if we proceed to give the President the authority to act without UN support. If the Senate gave the President authority to use force conditioned on a UN



Senator Arlen Specter, hosted Philadelphia's talk radio powerhouse Michael Smerconish (*The Big Talker* 1210 AM WPHT) and former Oklahoma City Investigative Reporter Jayna Davis as they discuss whether there is a connection between the events of September 11 and the Oklahoma City bombing.

## Tripling NIH Funding *(continued)*

lion. Again, we were defeated on a floor vote. Again, we established priorities and found the \$2 billion. We had a number of votes and had difficulties in coming to the figure, but the last recorded vote on the NIH budget was 96 to 4.

There have been remarkable achievements by NIH. NIH research has developed effective treatments for acute leukemia. NIH research has resulted in the identification of the genetic mutations for osteoporosis, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis - known as Lou Gehrig's disease - cystic fibrosis, Huntington's disease, skin cancer, breast cancer, and prostate cancer.

A third of all genetic defects affect the nervous system and so far more than 200 genes have been identified that can cause or contribute to neurological disorders, with a better understanding of multiple gene influences on disease risk, progression, and severity.

Research by the NIH has also brought remarkable progress with the first treatments for acute stroke, spinal cord

injury, new immune therapies that ameliorate symptoms and slow the progression of multiple sclerosis, and increased drug and surgical options for Parkinson's disease, epilepsy, and chronic pain.

Research sponsored by the NIH has been key in the development of the MRI, magnetic resonance imaging, positron emission tomography, and other imaging technologies.

Notwithstanding all of these achievements, Americans continue to suffer greatly. Women have traditionally been under-represented in medical research protocols, yet are severely affected by diseases, including breast cancer, ovarian cancer, osteoporosis, an cardiovascular disorders.

Cancer remains a comprehensive threat to any tissue or organ of a body at any age and remains a leading cause of morbidity and mortality.

As chairman, and now ranking member, of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, I have said many

times that NIH is the crown jewel of the Federal Government - perhaps the only jewel of the Federal Government.

It is clear that Congress' commitment to the NIH is paying off. Now it is crucial that increased funding be continued in order to convert these advances into treatment and cures.

We have fought long and hard to achieve a doubling of the NIH research dollars, but until treatments and cures are found for the many maladies that continue to plague our society, we must continue our fight.

I, like millions of Americans, have benefited tremendously from the investment we have made in NIH. That is why I now call upon the Congress to triple the funding for NIH so that we can continue to carry forward the important research work of the world's premier medical research facility.



On October 21, 2002, Senator Specter held a U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee Hearing in Johnstown, Pennsylvania regarding the Quecreek Mine accident.

## Inquiring About Quecreek

On October 21, 2002, I chaired a field hearing of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services in Johnstown, Pennsylvania to inquire about the events that allowed the Quecreek mining accident to occur. For three days in July the nation and parts of the world's attention was on the nine men trapped in a flooding mine in Somerset County, Pennsylvania.

There were a series of questions I wanted answers to regarding this accident. First, I wanted to know who was responsible for where happened and second I wanted to know how to prevent the same accident from happening in the future.

We got some important answers at the hearing. We got answers to the question about water danger, where there was testimony that the company had been advised of it two weeks before and that the production of coal in the mine had been cut down because of problems. We heard testimony about the inadequacy of the maps, talking about a 1957 map what had been changed substantially by 1964 and even the 1964 map being inadequate and the business about encroachment which is a fancy legal word for having somebody mine to the adjoining property to dig coal and having a danger created by the fact that taking the coal as unknown.

We are going to make pro-

gress. In September I went to Carnegie Mellon to see what work had been done with robot mapping of mines. On August 28th I visited Carnegie Mellon University's Robotics Institute to look at the research they are conducting to produce such a robot.

After the hearing a reporter asked me if we were going to review all of the mining maps in the nation. I told him, "You bet." Miners go into the mines and risk their lives, its minimal to review the maps. I would rather review the maps than put any miner at risk.

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Governor Mark Schweiker and Secretary David Hess testified during Senator Specter's field hearing in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.



## Assistance For Dairy Farmers *(continued)*



dairy farmers, the cost of milk goes up to the consumer.

I know. At the shop where I buy a half-gallon of milk, it was \$1.89, and it jumped to \$2.19 at the precise time when the payments made to the dairy farmers were going down. It seems to me there really has to be an additional factor in the calculation of these prices by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

It is for that reason that I have proposed legislation to determine the basic formula price for milk by taking into account the price of feed grains and other cash expenses. This would include the cost of concentrates, by-products, whey,

hay, silage, pasture, and other forage as well as the cost of hauling, artificial insemination, veterinary services and medicine, bedding and litter, marketing, custom services and supplies, fuel, lubrication, electricity, machinery and building repairs, labor, association fees, and assessments.

During the course of the July and August break, I traveled extensively on open house town meetings throughout Pennsylvania. I heard recurrent complaints from the dairy farmers about being unable to maintain the dairy farms. It is a very important matter that the small dairy farmers be able to continue

to produce milk, which is a very important item in our daily diets. I don't think I need to expand upon that point.

But the dairy farmers are facing enormous problems. We had hoped there would be a dairy compact which would include Pennsylvania. There had been one for the New England States.

Legislation has been introduced — S. 1157 — which is now pending before the Judiciary Committee. A dairy compact would be of material assistance to farmers generally but certainly farmers in Pennsylvania.

**If I Can Be of Any Assistance, Please Contact One of My Eight Offices Throughout Pennsylvania and in Washington**  
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